

WORKERS AGE

A Paper Defending the Interests of the Workers and Farmers

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Leftward Winds in the S.P.

ILGWU Convention Notes

by Observer

The convention of the International Ladies Garment Workers Union, dramatized a period of phenomenal growth. Only one year ago a union with some 40,000 members, the convention this year recorded such tremendous growth that the union is within striking distance of a quarter million members. The I.L.G.W.U. is today the third largest union in the A. F. of L.

In the forthcoming issue of Workers Age we will thoroughly estimate the decisions of the convention. In this issue we present a number of documents which epitomize certain of the high points of this convention.

For the dramatic manner in which the convention spoke up against race discrimination, we are indebted primarily to the progressive, and militant delegation from Local 22. It was on the initiative and under the pressure of this delegation that the convention finally moved from the lily white Medinah-Michigan Club. The delegation of Local 22 expressed its appreciation for this act by presenting a floral wreath to the convention. Charles Zimmerman, manager of this local, made the following talk to the convention on this occasion:

"The moving of the convention out of the Medinah-Michigan Avenue Club into this hall is something that has no precedent in the history of American labor. (Applause) This is the first time that a convention of a labor union demonstrated in such a forceful way that we are not going to tolerate any discrimination within our ranks, against any members of our Union, regardless of their race, color, or creed.

"Such action, in a country where, in almost half of its area, the Negroes have no right to ride in the same street cars or sit in the same seats with the white people, where the employing class is trying deliberately to intensify race hatred and race prejudice, shows more than anything else that we are going to do our utmost to unify the ranks of the workers to carry on the struggle against the employing class. We are not going to tolerate, not only in such matters as have caused the moving of our convention, any race discrimination, but we are going to carry our campaign into the shops and into the ranks of American labor, where race prejudice still exists; we will carry on the fight to achieve the objective that there shall be no discrimination whatsoever, that the workers of this country be unified in the struggle against the employing class until the present system, the social order is changed completely." (Applause)

(From the convention minutes)

Another issue which is today plaguing the labor movement, is

the NRA. In a minority report of the Committee on Officers' Report, Zimmerman placed very clearly his differences with the administration on this question. The correctness of Zimmerman's claims that NRA is a menace to trade unionism, were dramatized by the letters to the I.L.G.W.U. and to President Roosevelt, from a delegation of steel

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RUSSIA AND THE
LEAGUE OF NATIONS
by Bert Wolfe

PERSPECTIVES FOR
THE NEW DEAL
by Jay Lovestone

THE I.L.G.W.U.
CONVENTION
An Estimate

Militants Capture Party

by Jay Lovestone

Put yourself in a jammed, stuffy, smoke-filled hotel meeting room surrounded by middle-aged, middle-class folk, and some younger people, workers from the mill and mine and you will find yourself in the Socialist Party Convention, held at the beginning of the month, in Detroit.

Too few workers were there as delegates. As many farmers were there, though now and then one would run into a "red hayseed," in

the best sense of the word; really a remnant of an age gone by, a left-over of the old populist farmers, drifting with the tides of time into the Socialist Party ranks.

In the main, the debates were no polite, parlor-Socialist discussions. They were spirited battles between successful Socialist lawyers and once successful ministers of the gospel. They were rousing calls to, or away from, action by flourishing university professors and fossilized soap-boxers.

Hillquit Was Missing

All of which gave us a picture and a feeling of hopeless, pathetic confusion. Hillquit was missing. The body of the Hillquit leadership and policies was there alright, but the head was gone. The right wing, consisting of pseudo-Marxists of the crassest type, constituted a formidable numerical section of the convention. However, it was obvious, at the very outset, that it was leaderless, headless, and, at the close of the convention, even headless in its manner of debate.

The "steel rod" of the convention was Norman Thomas and the forces rallying around his personality-plus leadership. Most of these delegates had no idea what they wanted, but they wanted something new, and they felt their want keenly. Others felt that the party was inactive; they wanted to do something and do it in a hurry.

The Militant Group

Numerically speaking, the biggest group in the convention was the "Militant" outfit. Politely put, in a political sense, judging by the sundry shades of opinion in its ranks, it might be called the rainbow group, the Rainbow Division of the S.P. All colors of principle and policy went into making one picture of confusion, solidified by aspiration to office and hope for a "new deal." More accurately put, in a principle sense, it should be called the "Militant managerie." It was the Noah's Ark of the convention. It saved the S.P. from the thunder on the left and the open opportunist deluge on the right. This group did not have a definite theoretical base. It had many bases, despite some of its top leadership flirting with the Alther-Ehrlich centrist tendency in the Second International. In its successful serried ranks were job-seekers, chronic postponers of issues, some genuine grandiose dreamers, the awakening Wisconsiners, led by Mayor Hoan and Sheriff Benson of Milwaukee, and the thinkers and doers of Socialist-Centrism led by Biemiller of Wisconsin and Krueger of Illinois.

The R.P.C.

Last, but numerically least, was the Revolutionary Policy Committee, stronger in revolutionary aspiration than in numbers or experience. The handful of delegates under its banner occupied a strategic position in view of the closeness of the contest between the rights and the all inclusive Cen-

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Lovestone Addresses ILGWU Convention

Jay Lovestone, secretary of the Communist Party U.S.A. (Opposition) addressed the twenty-second biennial Convention of the International Ladies Garment Workers Union, during the afternoon session on Wednesday June 6, 1934. The stenographic report of his address follows.—Editor.

PRESIDENT DUBINSKY: In the course of the convention you have heard references to the Communist Party (Opposition). The spokesman from that organization is in this hall. There are a number of delegates representing important locals that belong to this group, and, as I stated, while we politically differ and disagree, the fact that this group and their leader, stand in principle against dual unionism entitles him to be heard in our midst. I therefore will call upon Jay Lovestone to step forward to the platform. I want him to address this convention.

JAY LOVESTONE: Brother Chairman, Fellow Delegates and Comrades: You have had a sort of jubilee harvest of distinguished speakers and speeches. So far as I am concerned, I will not be able to fail into either category here. Likewise, let me say in advance that I will not be carrying coal to Newcastle and offer you more compliments. Your

President has well said that there are many differences between us. Still we are able to work in the same trade union movement.

With these differences assumed, let me attempt, at this moment, to present to you as a Communist, as one of the founders of the Communist movement in this country, the Communist position on a number of questions which agitate us today. These are questions the solution of which will determine not only the fate of your mighty union, not only the fate of the American working class, but, I say, contribute decisively toward the fate of the world labor movement and, therefore, of the best part, the most constructive part, of humanity as a whole.

I do not propose to butt into your business. But I say that a number of fundamental questions which may appear to you as strictly your business are strictly the business of the entire working class, of which the Communist movement is an organic part. We have, in the United States, the biggest trade union movement in the capitalist world. We have, in the United States, the biggest trade union movement next to the Russian, next to Socialist Russia, where the working class rules and does not beg favors.

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Zimmerman's Minority Report

As a member of the Committee on Officers Report, I want to submit the following minority report:

1. Our union has made tremendous progress within the last year and this should be a source of gratification and encouragement for the entire membership. I feel, however, that the spirit of incessant glorification and uncritical jubilation, which is characteristic of the tone of this report, is an unwholesome one for a labor organization which ought always to be sober, critical and realistic. There is no group of men of any organization in existence, that can possibly be so infallible and so perfect as the committee makes out our officers to be. This spirit of exaggerated praise and endless glorification certainly will not help us to see clearly the many difficult problems still facing our union and the women's garment industry. An approach a little less sugary and a little more objective and sober is absolutely necessary for our union to continue to march forward.

SIGNIFICANCE OF NRA

2. My chief difference with the report of the majority of your committee is on the question of the estimation of the NRA, its effects and its meaning for the labor movement. The committee is at-

tempting the impossible task of reconciling diametrically opposed viewpoints on this fundamental question and is, thereby, evading the responsibility of taking a clear-cut position itself.

The question of the significance of the NRA and its meaning for labor is today the most widely discussed question in our movement and no union, certainly not a union of our character, can meet in convention without adopting a clearly defined attitude on this question.

The NRA is not now, nor was it even in the earlier stages, a scheme of genuine industrial democracy, a plan to give labor a real voice in the management and control of American industry. On the contrary, the NRA was developed as a plan of stabilizing the shaky foundations of the capitalist system thru stimulating the organization of the employers on a national scale into gigantic associations endowed with government powers to regulate and direct industry in their own interests. It is important to note that in its general outlines the NRA follows the recovery plans proposed by Mr. Harriman, President of the United States Chamber of Commerce, in the Fall of 1931. Within this framework, the New Deal has included maximum

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LOVESTONE "THE S.P. CONVENTION"
June 19, 8 p.m., Irving Pl.

Summer Training School Lovestone's Address at ILGW Convention

The first full time National Training School, to be run by the New Workers School, will be established this summer. From July 9 to July 31 workers and labor organizers from Canada, the Pacific Coast, the South, the Midwest, the Farmers' Region, as well as the East will take an intensive training course at the New Workers School to prepare themselves for the big struggles looming ahead for American Labor. It is anticipated that at least 30 active workers and organizers will come from cities outside of New York with a similar number from New York City. Applications have already been sent in from Chicago, Detroit, Boston, Hartford and Seattle.

The curriculum will be the most interesting and instructive yet offered in a workers' school. The following are the subjects and instructors:

History of the American Communist Movement—Jay Lovestone.
Theoretical System of Marxism—Bert Wolfe.

The Philosophy of Marxism—Will Herberg.

Fundamentals of Communism—D. Benjamin.

American History—Jim Cork.

Racial Tendencies in American Labor Movement—Jay Lovestone.

Public Speaking—Instructor to be announced.

Problems of Mass Work—Symposium course, Instructors—G. F. Miles, B. Herman, Charles Zimmerman, Ed Welsh, Eli Keller, I. Zimmerman, Ben L'shitz, Al Epstein, etc.

The schedule will involve classes from 9 to 3:30 p. m.; study from 3:30 p. m. to 6 p. m., and practical work in the evenings. Arrangements will be made with trade unions, unemployed organizations, inter-racial clubs, and with the CPO to enable the students to attend, observe or help in the work of the organizations. The purpose is to combine the theory and practice of the class struggle.

The New Workers School appeals to all labor organizations, to all students, former students, and friends of the New Workers School to help it in this important venture in workers' education, to help it train organizers for the coming struggles in the auto, steel, textile, shoe, coal, needle and other industries, to help make the National Full-Time Training Course a permanent feature of the New Workers School.

We appeal to all friends to assist financially in this most important task. Use the blank below in sending your contribution.

NEW WORKERS SCHOOL

51 West 14th St.,
New York, N. Y.

I agree with the necessity of training organizers for the American Labor movement. I agree with the purpose of the Full Time National Training School to prepare fighters for the coming struggles ahead of American Labor.

I hereby contribute \$.....

Name

Address

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FIRST NUMBER

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51 West 14th Street — New York, N. Y.

ILGW.U. Report

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workers in Washington. Zimmerman's minority report (printed in full in this issue) can serve as a guide to progressives and militants in the trade unions throughout the country.

...

The election of Zimmerman as Vice-President and member of the General Executive Board is of great significance. It constitutes the first time that an avowed communist has been elected to national office in an A. F. of L. union.

In connection with the elections for President it is worthy of note that the only critical voice raised was the statement by Zimmerman for the delegation of Local 22. The two delegates supporting the official CP were neither heard of nor seen and permitted themselves to be recorded as voting for Dubinsky without statement or reservations.

Another high point of the convention was the address made by Jay Lovestone. Communists have in the past addressed trade union conventions but not as official representatives of a communist organization. The address of Lovestone marks a new page for communist work in the trade unions. It indicates also that the Communist Party (Opposition) is a factor to be reckoned with in many trade unions.

The Theatre Union presents
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THE DUTY OF COMMUNISTS

We, as Communists, and as uncompromising followers of Marx and Lenin, maintain that it is the duty of the Communists to be the most constructive fighters inside the trade unions, which we consider the most all-inclusive, the most elemental organization of the working people, taking in people of all colors and all creeds and all political opinions.

We say that Communists should, and those Communists who do not, we hope will correct themselves, have the following views so far as the trade union movement is concerned. Even the weakest union, a union with the most conservative leadership—even a union which is not satisfactory to us, is better than no union. (Applause) And the job of the Communist in the unions is not through name-calling, not through mud slinging, but through exemplary, constructive, militant conduct to show the workers that the road to complete victory as defended by the Communists is the road which they should follow.

NO STIFLING OF DIFFERENCES

We do not believe that differences in the unions should be stifled. We say that that organization which is unable to stand having differences is an organization which belongs in the cemetery, and that trade unions do not belong in the cemetery. We believe that the differences we have in the unions are differences that can and should and must be settled through democratic means—and when I say democratic, I do not spell it with a capital "D"—through friendly, brotherly discussion. No expulsions, no mud-slinging, no black jacks can offer a solution and a settlement of differences. It is only through the frankest and freest discussions, that we are able to arrive at the most constructive policy.

NRA AND LABOR

You, fellow-workers and comrades, know very well that today you can not speak of the problems of the trade union movement without considering the NRA. Let me underscore at the very outset of my remarks that we are great disbelievers in the NRA. We take the sharpest issue with those sections of the labor movement who think that the NRA is worth a half penny for them. The NRA, at its best, is a counterfeit. We are of the opinion that there should have been no illusions about the NRA. We know the old hag; we can see beneath her powdered wig. We know the old hag with her contagious diseases for the labor movement. We did not have to wait for General Johnson's speech, a strike-breaking speech, at the last American Federation of Labor convention, a speech which challenges the right to strike; and your President and you fellow delegates will bear me out that once you take away the right to strike from the trade unions you have taken away from them the right and the possibility to live.

Look at the textile workers. General Johnson gave them a set of professors to study their conditions. It is a sort of splinter from the brain trust. What the workers want is not statistics; they want food and jobs.

Look at the automobile industry. I have just come from Detroit, where the New Dealers from Washington are preparing for a big revolt of the automobile workers, and there, my friends and fellow workers, they have appointed as Police Commissioner of the city Colonel Pickert. Who is Colonel Pickert? He was head of the 182nd Division of the National Guard of the State of Michigan, Commander-in-Chief of the troops which shot down the workers in Calumet and Hecla.

Why did they put him up there? For law and order, for peace and plenty—for the bosses!

Coal miners' wages are being cut.

You workers know very well that the NRA is of no earthly use to us unless you can line it up against the wall and get something out of it. And the first thing there, is organization—bigger organization, more effective organization.

And let me say this to you. Remember that Washington, D. C., is the headquarters of the chiselers. Looking for chiselers should be like charity; it should begin at home. D. C.—District of Chiselers would be a proper term. It is they who always speak to you against philosophy and selfish interests. What is all this? When they tell you about philosophy they are hiding something from you. To the capitalist class and its spokesmen, no matter where or who they are, when they say, "Don't be selfish," you must answer: An examination of selfishness should also begin at home.

The working people are not suffering from selfishness. They are suffering from lack of adequate organization and consciousness of their ability to protect themselves against capitalism. You can not have a partnership with the NRA. To be a part of the NRA machinery means to sacrifice certain opportunities for the effectiveness of your best weapon, the right to strike.

MANEAGE OF FASCISM

Let me sound a warning. Through the NRA and through its validating company unionism the capitalist class is preparing the road to Fascism in a more dangerous, in a more effective, in a more destructive way than through any other steps being taken.

And, at this point, a word about Fascism. I have had the opportunity to see Fascism grow and develop in Germany. I have had the opportunity, unfortunately, to have seen it come to victory because

the working class was not aware of the growing menace of it. Fascism may appear distant from us today, but, my friends and fellow-workers and comrades, Fascism is as distant from us as we allow it to be. We must learn from the mistakes of our German and Italian brothers.

The powerful trade union movement of Germany has today become an underground movement of the first signs of revival. We in this country must be on guard primarily against the menace of company unionism as the most dangerous source of Fascism. When we speak of Fascism, let us not forget that it isn't only Hitler, Mussolini or Pilsudsky. Who knows whether tomorrow it won't be Doumergue or MacDonald in France or in England?

Permit me, in behalf of the underground German trade unions with whom we are in contact and in behalf of the underground political organizations of Germany today, to present to you, through your President, the first underground trade union paper, actual size, now being circulated in Germany, "Der Metalarbeiter" (The Metal Worker). This is the condition into which the once most powerful union in the world has been forced. That is the best they can do today. I say to you, comrades and fellow-workers, let us learn from our experiences over there so that here we are not driven into such a condition. Here are two other papers from the underground movement, one the "Arbeiterstimme" (Voice of Labor), actual size, and another "Einheit," the most popular word in Germany today, "Unity"—unity of Communists, Socialists, Trade Unionists and Catholic workers against Hitler. (Applause).

DICTATORSHIP BY WHOM?

Much has been said of the fear of dictatorship. I say we ought to drop this bugaboo of dictatorship. When your union dictates a contract to a boss or an association, is it good or bad? It is good. When the bosses dictate to the union, that is bad. Dictatorship is not an abstraction. I think you can not commit a bigger crime against the labor movement than when you lump together Communism—the working class dictatorship of Russia—with Fascism, the trust dictatorship of Germany. There is all the difference in the world between the two, essentially the difference in the class relationship, as between your dictating to the bosses as against the bosses dictating the terms to you. We should not confuse these situations.

Let me say we stand proud to show you Russia, once the land of the darkest Tsardom; Russia today is what it is because the working class has taken power. It is the most advanced, the most rapidly developing cultural and industrial country, a country which has already torn one-sixth of the world out of the hands of the exploiting class and put it into the hands of the toiling masses, and we say to you with all the energy at our command that as the victors of Russia are not only Russian victories, so the defeats of Russia are not only Russian defeats, but are our own.

We have made mistakes there. We are not perfect. We will make mistakes, but with all the mistakes and with all the shortcomings we may have there, let me assure you that Socialist Soviet Russia is the greatest inspiration in the history of the world. It is the breaking of a new dawn, of a new day, for the working people all over the world.

ILGWU SHOULD BE IN VANGUARD

I can not conclude my remarks to you without telling you that your union, in our opinion, must not only take steps to hold the gains it has made, but must take steps to extend the gains it has won. We pledge to you in behalf of the Communist Party (Opposition) that in any struggle you are in, in any fight against the bosses, you will find our members and our followers first on the picket lines, in the front line of the fights. (Applause)

We ask nothing in return, because your victory is the victory of our class, and therefore, is our victory. We fight shoulder to shoulder with you for decent, bearable, tolerable conditions in this hell of a system known as capitalism. We say a little more than that. Your union, in our opinion, should undertake to become the beacon of the American trade union movement. Your union should undertake to set an example of leadership and inspiration to the other trade unions. We may think and we do think that your union is not radical enough, but heaven bless you when you see the other unions. (Applause). In comparison with some of the other unions, let us say the photo-engravers, you have actually made a "revolution." Of course, I say we are not satisfied. We want your revolution to go more to the left. We are very frank with you about it and we are going to work for it, within the trade union movement on a constructive basis.

When I say I think that your union should become the torch bearer of the labor movement, I have the following in mind: You should fight for social insurance. I don't want to butt into your business, but I think trade unions have no business in the insurance business. (Laughter) I think it is the duty of the working people to fight for old age, unemployment and sickness insurance as they have never fought before. (Applause) If the capitalist class can't pay for it, it is not our worry; it is their headache. Who tells them to rule? Let them get out and if they want or need any help to get out, we can all give it to them. (Laughter and applause)

We say that your union, on the basis of the reso-

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ATRONIZE BRADLEY'S CAFETERIA, 535 6th Ave.-14 St.,

LEFTWARD WINDS IN SOCIALIST PARTY

(Continued from Page 1)

trist bloc led by Krueger and dominated by Thomas. However, the R.P.C., because of its lack of experienced leadership on the convention floor, because of its failure to differentiate itself sharply enough from the militant confusionism of the 'Thomas-Hoan-Krueger triumvirate, certainly failed to measure up to the situation. It was not till the end of the convention that the R.P.C. began to show its distinct and generally revolutionary position. It went through a number of crises and inner struggles at the convention, struggles which became the property of everybody but which nevertheless did serve to enhance its clarity, determination, and principledness.

Power In The Balance

Until the last day of the convention it was a toss-up as to who would get hold of the party machinery. In preliminary skirmishes on procedure the extreme right wing led by Waldman, Lee, and Solomon of New York, had the better of it. Thus, Panken, Sharts, and Kirkpatrick were able, with the assistance of the abstaining Thomas, to defeat Krueger and his colleagues who proposed that the convention endorse the position of the majority of the American Socialist Party's delegation at the Paris Conference of the Second International last summer. The convention on its very first day, through skillful manipulation by the smooth parliamentarians of the New York Lawyers' Exchange, was able to defeat, by a close vote, the Krueger attempt to commit the Socialist Party to the Centrist attitude of Alter-Ehrlich towards capitalist democracy, proletarian dictatorship, and the Soviet Union. It was later obvious that this defeat must be attributed mostly to the lack of organization by "Militant" forces in the early stages of the convention.

NRA and Socialism

But, as the convention went on, the Centrist steamroller began to function more smoothly and powerfully. It battered into shape a horde of opinions and flattened into submission the R.P.C. delegates numbering about 15 or 20. Clarity of principle was not its virtue. Concession here, concessions there, became its forte. Glaring evidence of this was had in the debate on and adoption of the resolution dealing with "The NRA and Socialism." James Oneal, stodgiest of the extreme right wing of the party, could very well boast "that the NRA resolution which took the New York minority resolution ('Militant' group) as a basis carried certain changes that correlate with certain criticism" which he "made of it in meetings in New York." The convention struck out of the resolution such innocuous expression as "The NRA has also shown fundamental weaknesses in the American labor movement. It has shown up more clearly than any other event the obsolete ideology of the A. F. of L., the many instances in which leaders have counselled workers against striking. . . . It has shown the inadequacy of the A. F. of L. structure in organizational work and the positive harm of the craft form of organization." Of course, one cannot conceive of more mild criticism of the corrupt, reactionary A. F. of L. bureaucracy. Certainly Krueger knows and believes at least that much. Yet "somehow" the steamroller was detoured on this vital question.

Trade Union Question

A thoroughly sterilized resolution was adopted on the trade union question. This resolution doesn't say a semi-critical word about the treacherous policies, the anti-working class practices of the Greens, the Wolls, the Hillmans, and their stripe in the American trade union movement. It does go out of the way to advise "that Socialists should observe the highest form of ethics in the trade union movement." Judging by what the resolution fails to say as well as by what it underscores in its paragraphs, it is clear that the

ethics it stresses are not the ethics of militant trade unionism fighting for the reconstruction of the American labor unions, fighting for the transformation of the present craft unions into genuine agencies of working class struggle. The trade union resolution adopted by the S.P. convention indicates unmistakably the fear of the dominant leadership of American Socialism even to embarrass the A. F. of L. bureaucracy, let alone, decisively break with its treacherous class-collaborationist policy.

The Soviet Union

No resolution on the Soviet Union was adopted. Here some clumsy plastic surgery was attempted. The attempt failed, and the patient was turned over to the morgue, the "resolutionary morgue" known as the National Executive Committee. The Resolutions Committee sweated blood at the point of the scissors and at the end of the mutilage brush. With one hand it took the R.P.C. resolution on the Soviet Union which is certainly sound; which says in part: "There only has the State power been used in the interests of the workers to abolish capitalism by destroying private ownership in the means of production, and there alone, have steady and substantial advances been made toward Socialism." With the other hand it took the "Militant" resolution and tried to graft from it onto this statement of the R.P.C. the following: "It is our opinion that the advances so far achieved make the rigid one party dictatorship no longer necessary and warrant a broader inclusion of all working class parties and groups that accept the Proletarian Dictatorship." Either this grafting meant nothing or it meant too much. It is safe to assume that it will come out to the membership in an even more harmless form, in a thoroughly embalmed state, when the morticians of the N.E.C. get through with it.

The Declaration of Principles

The grand battle came on the last, the third, day of the convention, over the Declaration of Principles. For two and a half hours the Convention was subjected to violent cannonading, machine gun fire and gas attacks. Pacifist preachers "bayoneted" respectable lawyers. University economic pro-

by Jay Lovestone

fessors lambasted LLD's. The debate was neither dignified in form nor worthwhile in substance. Personalities were roasted and motives were panned. What was the war about? The renowned pacifist, Devere Allen, fathered this resolution on one of whose limbs was the somewhat reddish flower: "They (the Socialists) will meet war and the detailed plans for war already mapped out . . . by massed war resistance, organized so far as practicable in a general strike . . .". Furthermore, the resolution ended with a faint thunder: "If the crisis comes through the denial of majority rights after the electorate has given us a mandate, we shall not hesitate to crush by our labor solidarity the reckless forces of reaction and to consolidate the Socialist State. If the capitalist system should collapse in a general chaos and confusion, which cannot permit of orderly procedure, the Socialist Party, whether or not in such a case it is a majority, will not shrink from the responsibility of organizing and maintaining a government under the workers' rule. True democracy is a worthy means of progress; but true democracy must be created by the workers of the world. (Our emphasis)."

The Right's Attack

Were it not for the bitterness of the debate, one would be tempted to say, after reading and re-reading this paragraph, "so what?" However, the reactionaries at the convention saw red and Socialist blood over-flowed from the platform down the aisles. Waldman branded it worse than the St. Louis resolution of 1917. He sensed in it stealthy, dishonest, illegitimate flirtations with the Proletarian Dictatorship! Good lawyers do have rubber minds. But this is an instance of not stretching the point but of stretching the whole case. It has nothing to do with the Proletarian Dictatorship. Waldman did something worse than that, something shameful. He denounced the Declaration as unlawful, as illegal, and in this way, as was well pointed out by his opponents, not only tried to prejudice the minds of the delegates, but even armed bourgeois courts with expert "Socialist" legal advice. Needless to say,

Waldman's strategy has apparently already worked wonders. The new N.E.C. is helping to transform the discussion of the Declaration of Principles, to be had during the referendum on it into a battle between the Socialist Party lawyers of the right and the legal experts it will engage to interpret juridically this document for the Centrists in the party. One of the star speakers against the Declaration was Sharts of Ohio who has been coquetting with Fascism for some months. He waved the stars and stripes and declared that "It has meant something to me to be born in America. I served under the flag of the United States and it didn't seem a bad flag to me. As an American, loving America above all nations of the earth, I will stand by America and against the Red internationalists who have drafted this program."

The "Militant" Defense

Now to the defenders of this Militant, in quotation marks, document. Devere Allen, very correctly, as an expert on pacifism, defended the war resistance phrase as a standard pacifist phrase calculated to reduce violence. He emphasized: "If the capitalist government is disloyal enough (he did not say to whom) to throw the people into war, then, the S.P. cannot remain loyal." And again he said: "What do they want us to do when capitalism collapses? Do they want us to let the Communist Party take the country?" Kryzcki put in his two cents for the new Declaration of Principles by eulogizing Hillquit who, he stressed, if he were here, would surely vote for it. Thomas emphasized that whatever the Socialists threatened to do here they will do only after they have achieved power constitutionally. He pleaded that even churches say they will not support war. He swore that in proposing this resolution the S.P. is not superceding its past principles. Finally, he sincerely but pathetically pleaded: "If in chaos, how can we wait for a majority, or look to mechanistic democracy?" Hoan joined the chorus by saying "We are for law and order, but if they touch one of us we will take two of their S.O.B.'s." Clearly, the Mayor was making progress, losing parliamentary dignity, going beyond the city limits of Milwaukee Socialism, or

as Joe Goldwell well put it at the convention, this is going somewhat beyond the conception of the socialism of "overhead sewers and steamheated sidewalks." Haggood urged the adoption of the Declaration as a means of recruiting leftward moving workers. Biemiller, for the Resolutions Committee, begged for the adoption of the resolution "because of the general radicalization of the workers. We must therefore have more left resolutions."

Right Threatens To Split

The threat of a split was uttered and insinuated by Louis Waldman and some of his associates of the ultra-right. The final attack on the resolution was dealt by Judge Panken who drew the attention of the delegates to the fact that his hair became gray in the S.P. and that: "We can, in America, by a proper appeal, get power by peaceful democratic means." Frank Crosswaith ended the debate by saying that the delegates should vote for the resolution even if they found it necessary to make amendments to it.

Synthetic Policies and Leadership

The vote on this resolution indicated a crushing defeat for the pseudo-Marxist right wing group. The Old Guard fought. It did not surrender. It will now begin to die out. A new, synthetic, leadership has arisen in the S.P. Its militancy is equally synthetic, as can be seen by the nature of the policies and principles adopted by the convention. The convention is but a distorting mirror of the opinions and feelings now developing vaguely, confusedly, yet rather undeniably towards the left in the ranks of the S.P. members. The Declaration of Principles adopted is nothing but a crude vulgarization, in typical American empirical, eclectic fashion, of the Centrist ideology now coming to the fore in various sections of the European Social-Democratic Parties. We have here the American expression of this international tendency towards left or concealed reformism, but reformism nevertheless, as manifested in certain sections of the French Socialist Party and in the Prague Program and the "New Beginning" group of German Social-Democracy. Norman Thomas, for the first time the unquestioned and unquestionable leader of the S.P., frankly admitted this in the course of the convention debate, and has since then confessed that "No S. P. can say less than this in view of what has happened abroad."

Significance of Events

Despite all of this, let no one underestimate the significance of the fact that for the first time in nearly 15 years, political questions and, in a limited manner, fundamental principles, were discussed somewhat critically at an S.P. convention. The sneering, contemptuous, self-adoring attitude of the middle-headed leadership of the official C.P. will not serve to help educate and move the several thousand workers in the S.P. towards Communism. The official C.P. is today operating under the blanket code of "Social-Fascism." It is this code which explains why the official C.P. is so totally divorced from the decisive doings which have only begun to manifest themselves (still in a hesitant and confused way) in the S.P. Whether there will be a split in the S.P. in the coming year or so, is not the decisive question just now. The decisive question is: what can those of us who are Communists do to help eradicate social reformism in this country by winning over to revolutionary Socialism, to the Socialism of Marx and Lenin, that is, to Communism, the best and healthiest working class forces, today beginning to lose their faith in Social-Democracy and growing towards a revolutionary path?

It is in this sense that this convention of the Socialist Party has real political import to us. To the members of the S.P., honestly seeking more effective ways and weapons in the class struggle, we can only pledge a helping, comradesly, hand to aid them in getting to the true revolutionary path.

STEEL WORKERS DEFY NRA

Washington, D. C.

The "Rank and File" committee of the Amalgamated Association of Iron and Steel Workers has once again shown that it was not to be taken in by either the company union proposals of the Steel Institute or by the strike breaking proposals of General Johnson.

The committee, rejecting all proposals placed before it from both sources, decided to place the whole situation before the steel workers who will assemble in a special convention in Pittsburgh on June 14.

The bitterness with which they left the capital can best be seen from the following quotations from a letter which they sent to President Roosevelt. The letter stands as the sharpest challenge of the labor policies of the present administration and represents clear thinking on the meaning of the NRA for the workers. In this sense it is the sharpest document ever addressed to the President by any trade union in the U. S. on the NRA.

"We understand you have left for a week-end cruise on the Sequoia. We wish we could join you, but we must return to our lodges to report that all we got out of your National Recovery Administration and Section 7a was an offer to tighten the company union chains that bind the workers in

the steel industry.

"The proposal by the Iron and Steel Institute and General Johnson is an insult to every worker in this country. Millions of us reposed confidence in you and your administration, despite the doubts that have plagued us as a result of NRA's refusal to enforce the very plain words of Section 7a, guaranteeing us the right to organize and bargain collectively with our employers. We have lost the faith which we held in your administration, which promised justice and a new deal to the nation's workers.

"Mr. President, the least you can do is to throw the Iron and Steel Institute's brazen company union proposition into the waste basket. . . .

"General Johnson has discredited himself forever in the eyes of the workers of this country. . . .

"It is useless for us to waste any more time in Washington in the national run-around, rejecting traps set for us. We are returning home today to prepare for action. We have done our best to abide by the law and to get it enforced. We conferred a favor on the administration by warning you of the consequences of non-enforcement of Section 7a. If the government will not help us, then we

must use the only means left to us."

In answer to a vicious attack on the committee by General Johnson, in his speech to the convention of the International Ladies Garment Workers Union in Chicago, the Rank and File Committee sent the following message to David Dubinsky at the Convention:

"We, union steel workers, delegates to our recent Amalgamated Association convention, battling here in Washington for a conference with our employers for collective bargaining, appeal to you to denounce General Johnson's insults to the steel workers made in a radio broadcast to you last night.

"We are now making the same fight for recognition which you won twenty years ago, after long and bitter strikes. It was dastardly of Johnson to use the platform of the Ladies Garment Workers Union to denounce a brother union and to call us Communists because we join the entire labor movement in the demand for the thirty hour week. We send fraternal greetings and best wishes for the success of your convention."

Why this message never came before the convention for action is best known to David Dubinsky. The convention therefore took no action on it.

(Continued on Page 8)

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Report of the British I. L. P. Convention

Centrism Continues to Mark Time

by Evelyn Lawrence

The writer of this article, a leading comrade of the Communist Party U.S.A. (Opposition), spent more than a half year in Great Britain, acquainting herself at close range with the problems of the revolutionary movement of that country. She attended all sessions of the Independent Labor Party Congress at York.—Editor.

One hundred and fifty four delegates, from all sections of the country, convened at York for the 1934 conference of the Independent Labour Party. After four days of deliberations the I.L.P. still remains with an uncertain policy, still contains all tendencies in the working class movement, from open reformist elements to revolutionaries—and on the whole seems to take pride in this fact.

Tendencies In The I.L.P.

Several definite tendencies were obviously determined to win the I.L.P. to their respective positions, the reformists pure and simple, led by the "Unity Committee", of which the Lancashire Divisional Council is the driving force; the "Affiliation Committee" which desires immediate affiliation to the Communist International and has no criticism of it; the revolutionaries led by the "Revolutionary Policy Committee" which is in agreement with the principles of the Communist International but is critical of it, and which has been the driving force in the attempt to develop the revolutionary wing of the I.L.P. and to transform the I.L.P. into a revolutionary party; the fourth internationalists who together with the extreme right are violently anti-Communist Party; anti-Communist International and are opposed to any united fronts with them; and the centrists, led by the majority of the

National Administrative Council, who have gone as far as to say that parliamentary action alone will not win the day, but beyond that they are unwilling to meet the issues. They seem to seek schemes to keep everybody in the Party happy, by opposing all clear and positive expressions of policy, and somehow finding a position in between. They criticize Austro-Marxism, but their own conception of the final struggle is—a defensive struggle, if any.

CI Confuses Issues

It must be added that aside from these very definite tendencies, there is a large section which is apparently anxious to be shown the correct revolutionary path, but as yet seems incapable of distinguishing and evaluating various positions. It is particularly unfortunate for the development of this section that the CI and the CPGB have combined their just criticisms with lack of understanding, lack of tact, and a refusal to answer justified questions and doubts, in such a manner as to confuse the fundamental issues and to make it more difficult for the revolutionary position to drive forward in the I.L.P.

The Convention Agenda

The party policy may be determined through an examination of the fate of a series of disconnected resolutions which composed the section in the agenda on party policy.

Road To Power

The London Divisional Council, together with several

branches, introduced a resolution which declared that the capture of power by the workers will not depend on and can not be secured by winning a majority in Parliament. It aimed to direct the activities of the I.L.P. towards building Workers' Councils through daily struggles, to be used for the attainment of power and the foundation of the dictatorship of the working class. The resolution was defeated by a vote of 66 to 85.

Here, as throughout the conference the position of the NAC was to oppose the rights and the lefts, to oppose the parliamentarians, and the revolutionaries. The NAC with Brockway as spokesman opposed this resolution on the ground that it subordinated parliamentary activity to too great an extent.

The counter resolution from Lancashire, introduced by Middleton Murray, who made a heart-rending, righteous speech, for the constitutional approach was overwhelmingly defeated. And a resolution to present Socialism as an "ethically superior" system was likewise defeated.

On Economic Struggles

Another resolution from the London Divisional Council followed, asking the party to concentrate on the economic and industrial struggle as the basis for political activity, to take part side by side with the workers in their struggles, to seek united front activities towards building a united revolutionary movement in the country. But this too was defeated by a vote of 76 to 89. Shortly after

that a resolution making the primary object for the I.L.P. the capture of Parliament was also defeated.

Clarity At A Premium

In fact it seemed that any attempt to state the case clearly, whether reformist or revolutionary was defeated. In the whole section on party policy, the only resolutions passed were the non-committal ones. 1. That the I.L.P. can best "be built up" by active participation in the day to day struggle and that therefore "co-operation with all working class organizations" is part of the normal party work. 2. That the conference "deprecates" the action of those who contravened conference decisions, especially on the united front. 3. That branches "should carefully consider" the possibility of working in Trade Union Council unemployed organizations especially where the National Unemployed Workers Movement does not exist. To these might be added a few others which, although outside of this particular section, bear upon the policy of the I.L.P. in the immediate future.

Trade Union Work

A resolution making it a duty for I.L.P. members to participate in trade unions, to develop the rank and file movement against the bureaucracy of the unions, to organize trade union fractions, including an amendment making payment of the political levy, where necessary, permissive, was also passed. When the I.L.P. dissociated from the Labour Party, I.L.P. members had ceased paying the political levy which goes to the Labour Party. As a result many I.L.P. members had been disbarred from active participation in the trade unions. It is to be hoped that with this resolution passed, the I.L.P. members will not only attempt to regain and strengthen their influence in the unions, but will also develop militant action and the rank and file movement against the reactionary bureaucracy. Unfortunately the whole structure of the I.L.P. at present, is such that the resolution may well remain on paper,

organization until the final day of the convention the Revolutionary Policy Committee wavered back and forth between a fight on principle and a political trade with the militants. Its program was not presented on the convention floor by the delegates pledged to it. It did gain prestige and influence through conferences and educational meetings, although these latter were somewhat marred by momentary hesitation and wavering due to lack of experience as well as lack of firmness, conviction and clarity of purpose. It did elect Franz Daniel to the National Executive Committee by a deal with the militants on which the latter attempted to renig. It also set up a publishing association.

But the great need of the RPO was good practical political work. On the important issue of the session, the Declaration of Principles, the clear task of RPO delegates was to abstain on the basis of principle. Instead all but two of them—Sam Shaeer of Massachusetts and Peter Fagon of Michigan—voted for the Militant, centrist resolution. If the members of the RPO continue this vacillating line they will rapidly and well deservedly find themselves an isolated and unimportant group.

The plumpest balloon in the pre-convention conferences was Paul Porter's flamboyant Social-Democratic Commonwealth Plan. Reprints were broadcast to delegates and visitors, it carried the holy endorsement of Norman Thomas, wise-money was betting on Porter to win in a walk. Someone, however, stuck a pin in it. Brought in by the platform committee, with recommendations for sixty eight changes, it was tabled unanimously. It will still be on the table when the SP reconvenes in 1936. And by 1936 comes the revolutionary, comrades.

unless a coordinated and determined drive is carried on.

The United Front

The NAC recommendation for united front activity with the Communist Party on specific issues, requiring all members to carry out this minimum and permitting individual branches and districts to carry on further united front activity if they deem it advisable, was carried. The Conference likewise agreed to continue the Anti-War Movement in which the I.L.P. and the CPGB have been the driving factors. The Conference had the opportunity of receiving most enthusiastically, the news that at the very same time the National Union of Distributive and Allied Workers, a union of 127,000 members had voted to join the Anti War Movement.

The War Danger

The discussion on I.L.P. and anti-war work, made clear both the advances and the shortcomings of the Party. A resolution was passed which calls for unconditional refusal to participate in any imperialist war, propaganda for general strike in the event of war, to use any opportunity afforded by a war to overthrow the capitalist system, the formation of anti-war councils and active efforts of members of Parliament to expose and defeat the war menace. But the clause in the resolution calling for the planning of such work, during a period of illegality, was defeated by a vote of 89 to 73. The lead against illegal work was given by Elijah Sandham who warned the Conference that "London" was gradually leading the Party on to be an "insurrectionary party". True, resolutions which put faith in fairy tale peace pact proposals, in preventing the rearming of Germany and similar proposals were overwhelmingly defeated. True, the original resolution without the illegality clause passed without dissent, showing that the Party had to a great extent broken with its old pacifist attitudes. However, the vote and discussion made it clear that the majority was willing to declare unconditional opposition to imperialist war, but refused to meet the actual problem of how to oppose it, and would therefore be incapable of carrying out a revolutionary struggle against it.

International Relations

The problem which was of chief interest to the Conference was the one of international associations. Although it is impossible to separate the Party policy at home from its international associations, the two questions were discussed and considered in a manner which indicates that few realized the connection. However, the decisions on international relations were quite in keeping with the confused, centrist, party policy.

Although there had been an exchange of letters between the CI and the I.L.P. which made the CI attitude quite clear prior to the Conference, although the NAC was undoubtedly very well aware of the probable nature of the last minute cable from the CI, and of its own attitude towards the CI, irrespective of the CI's answer, it failed to give any lead prior to the Conference. It submitted no recommendation. Instead, the NAC utilized the fact that it received a cable from the CI on the eve of the Conference, to bring in an emergency resolution, at the same time scrapping all resolutions on international associations previously on the agenda. The NAC was probably well aware that because of the lack of clarity in the Party ranks on international associations, it would be simpler to secure the passage of its "new international" resolution, if the Party did not get the opportunity to discuss it and prepare for it prior to the Conference.

The NAC resolution 1. opposes the formation of a new international; and 2. continues "to associate with the Independent Revolutionary Parties with a view to influencing them to work for the establishment of an inclusive revolutionary international." The NAC recommendation further clouds the

A Socialist on the Convention

by A. M.

The author is an active member of the Socialist Party. His reactions to the Chicago convention of the S.P. are therefore of considerable interest.—Editor.

Socialist leaders convened in Detroit stewed through three hot June days, emerging with an ideological chop yes called a Declaration of Principles, compounded of sections of all left programs.

For a long Sunday afternoon oceans of oratory flooded the convention as Panken, Waldman, Sharts, Lee and Solomon battled to stop the adoption of the declaration supported by Thomas, Kryzcki, Hapgood, Allen and Biemiller which in part stated that "The Socialist Party will meet war by massed war resistance organized so far as practicable in a general strike of labor unions." The shades of Morris Hillquit and Eugene Debs were liberally invoked to curse and bless the resolution which read further, "Capitalism is doomed. If it can be superseded by majority vote the Socialist Party will rejoice. If the crisis comes through the denial of majority rights after the electorate has given us a mandate we shall not hesitate to crush by labor solidarity the forces of reaction and consolidate the Socialist state. If the capitalist system should collapse in general chaos and confusion which cannot permit of orderly procedure, the Socialist Party, whether or not in such case it is a majority, will not shrink from the responsibility of organizing and maintaining a government under the workers' rule."

The futility of the declaration was emphasized even by the militants supporting it—as an argument in its favor. Norman Thomas, after declaring that there was an American platform written in the American language on which he was proud to stand, urged its adoption by insisting that "No one is going to act on this anyway. It is entirely what we might do in the future if certain conditions arise." Mayor Dan Hoan of Milwaukee, who spoke ardently for the platform, told how he had abolished the Ku Klux Klan in Milwaukee

during the war and said that this declaration of principles would have an invigorating effect upon clean municipal administration.

The groans from the right found their noblest exponent in Joe Sharts of Ohio, "an American, loving America above all the nations of this earth," who denounced "the red internationalists who have written this platform" because "we are not even good sportsmen to talk of suppression after we are given the privilege of holding this convention in capitalist-ridden hotel, in a capitalist-ridden city, in a capitalist-ridden country." The keynote of the rights was fear, most clearly stated by George Kirkpatrick pleading "Let's be too shrewd to supply the Chambers of Commerce with this sword to turn against us." This shrewdness reached its climax in the speech of Louis Waldman of New York repudiating the brightest tradition of American socialism, the 1917 St. Louis resolution against war.

The resolution was passed by a vote of almost two to one. The Old Guard will inevitably try to force a referendum vote of the membership. (This proposal has been adopted already.—Editor.)

The complete inadequacy of the Militants' revolutionary position was displayed in the various resolutions relating to trade union work and organization. A statement on the NRA and Socialism was completely emasculated by striking out all references to or criticisms of the A. F. of L. bureaucracy. Head-striker-out was Leo Kryzcki, who is for the revolution but against any uncouth criticism of the leadership or policies of the A. F. of L. The trade union directives, as ultimately adopted, express little more than a pious hope that Socialists will be active in unions.

Other resolutions presented were on Fascism, on Agriculture, on the USSR and on working-class unity. This last was a stirring appeal for co-operation of the Second and

Third Internationals specifically prohibiting, however, united fronts on any less magnificent scale.

Elections and the principal resolutions represented a sweeping victory for the Krueger militant group which ousted the Old Guard and can now begin to age gracefully itself. The new Executive Committee consists of Kryzcki, Hoan, Graham, Thomas, Shadid, Hoopes, Hapgood, Krueger, Oneal, Daniel and Coolidge. Many of us hope that the new N.E.C. will act in such a way as to convince us that they are not bound by merely one principle, that of job-holding. What the R.P.C. member Daniel will do will bear watching and will be of no small import. No crystal gazing is necessary to forecast what the others will do.

The composition of the convention had a good deal to do with its procedure. The great majority of the delegates were lawyers, teachers, ministers, and ex-ministers. Extremely precise points of parliamentarianism occupied the greater part of the three day session. All actual business was transacted on the last day and then only by dint of drastically limiting discussion and refusing to accept amendments.

The spectre of Communism haunted the convention under the banner of the CPO. By sheer coincidence the red herring was dragged across the "incorruptible" pages of the New York Times by Joseph Shaplen, who as Times correspondent, as a member of the Socialist Party, and as a member of the League for Democratic Socialism keeps an attentive ear to the ground that he may always hear the other side.

The Revolutionary Policy Committee, red hope of the left wing, failed to pull itself out of the caucus rooms onto the convention floor. The R.P.C. going to the convention in support of the proletarian dictatorship and workers' councils, found its road to power checked by the manipulation of the more caucus-conscious Krueger centrists supported with the machinery of the National Office.

Failing to set up any solid or-

Dictatorship - Fascist or Communist?

Some Basic Differences Discussed

by G. S.

The 16th anniversary of the October Revolution found the German working class in a changed political situation. Many workers who previously shunned Communism now, under the impact of the bitter experiences which they were undergoing, changed their attitude toward the question of proletarian dictatorship in general and toward the Soviet Union in particular; they were being transformed from opponents to supporters of the dictatorship of the proletariat. The classic example of a proletarian dictatorship, now as before, is the Soviet Union. When the German workers want to decide for themselves just what the Proletarian Dictatorship really is, they can, and must of necessity, judge by the Russian experience, the October Revolution and the sixteen years of Socialist construction.

Against Abstractions

Lenin was always opposed to any discussion of "Dictatorship in general" and "Democracy in general". He declared repeatedly that bourgeois democracy was a form of capitalist dictatorship, while proletarian dictatorship was the fullest form of democracy for the working class. Lenin's criticism of loose talk about "dictatorship in general" is especially timely today.

New Trends—Good And Bad

As a result of the shattering of German reformism at the hands of the fascists, many Social-Democratic workers are losing faith in reformist principles. They are rejecting the cardinal tenet of the reformists, the belief in bourgeois democracy, and are beginning to see some point in the use of dictatorial methods.

Not all of the Social-Democratic workers, who are rejecting bourgeois democracy and are becoming favorably disposed to the idea of dictatorship, can be said, however, to be on the way to Communism. The radical phraseology of many of these workers, on the contrary, betrays fascist influence and suggests that these "revolutionists" are actually moving to the right of bourgeois democracy. They lead one to suspect that the dictatorship that they seek to attain has more in common with the fascist dictatorial regime than with the dictatorship of the proletariat.

Superficial Similarities

To what extent the ideological confusion has penetrated even the labor movement, under the pressure and influence of the fascist state, can be seen from the discussions of the proletarian dictatorship in certain pamphlets originating from the "left" (!) wing of German Social-Democracy. The

issue by declaring its readiness to associate with the CI in all efforts "which in the view of the I.L.P. further the revolutionary struggle of the workers" and by speaking of united action of the working class of the world. The key note of the recommendation is the association with the Independent Revolutionary Parties and a break with the CI. Not only does the resolution definitely align the I.L.P. with international centrism, but despite its declaration in opposition to the formation of a new international, in reality it is a definite step toward one. As C. K. Cullen of the RPC very well pointed out in discussion, it is very difficult to differentiate between association and an international with the narrow functions to which the NAC wants to limit it.

The four other tendencies in the I.L.P. were represented in five amendments to this recommendation.

1. The Affiliation Committee, through the Dumphries branch, introduced a substitute resolution for immediate affiliation to the CI as a sympathetic body. Actually this tendency had no significant strength. It was supported also by many who had criticisms and were not at all adherents of its program but were anxious to express their attitude towards the fundamental principles of the CI. The resolution was defeated by a vote of 34 to 126.

2. The resolution of Cullen (Pop- (Continued on Page 6)

following was taken from a pamphlet by Miles, "Socialism's New Beginning":

"... The form of its (The Soviet Union's) state, defended by the communists as Soviet democracy and attacked by non-communists as a regime of red terror, must be understood and evaluated by Marxist socialists on the basis of historical experience. ... The Soviet Union is, according to our views, a socialist state. It belongs to the type of centralized party state which is to be met in Italy and now also in Germany" (pages 106-107, Rand School Edition). In another pamphlet of the same brand (Irlen, "Marx Against Hitler") we are warned against a "misunderstanding of the character of the State erected by the Bolsheviks. We see in it the same type of state as exists under much different social relationships, of course, in the Fascist countries." (Page 44).

The identifying of the proletarian dictatorship with that of fascism, the rule of the working class in the Soviet Union with the bloody terror regime in Germany and Italy, represents a support of the Fascist lies about the "socialist character of the Nazi dictatorship." It represents a great danger to the working class and it is imperative, therefore, that the communists counteract the radical phrases of Miles and Irlen and enlighten the working class as to the difference between the proletarian and fascist dictatorships.

The proletarian and the fascist dictatorships, contrary to the frivolous remarks of the "revolutionists" of the Miles variety, do not have the same form of state. As a matter of fact the so-called similarity is purely formal and superficial. The proletarian dictatorship represents a type of state which is the antithesis of the fascist dictatorship. A number of important differences place an insuperable barrier between the proletarian and the fascist state, between the proletarian dictatorship in the Soviet Union and the Fascist dictatorship of Hitler and Mussolini.

Cardinal Distinctions

Through the fascist dictatorship, the bourgeois state apparatus reaches its greatest strength; through the extinction of the proletarian dictatorship in the Soviet Union, on the other hand, the bourgeois state apparatus was destroyed. Thru the bourgeois state apparatus Socialism cannot be introduced, even when a few Social-Democrats are admitted as concessionaries into the government. All those who advocate the proletarian dictatorship, without stating that it cannot be established unless the bourgeois state is destroyed, are lending aid to fascism. We have a case in point in the "lefts" of the British Labor Party, who ask that the next labor government obtain from Parliament empowering legislation with the aid of which it is to introduce Socialism. With this propaganda against parliamentarism, which is not a part of a struggle to eliminate the bourgeois state organization, but which is an attempt to strengthen it and render it independent, the "lefts" of the Labor Party are only giving aid to fascist tendencies in England. The propaganda of the Neo-Socialists Marquet, Deat, and Renaudel, in France, for a "strong (bourgeois) state", is also bound to have a similar effect.

Dictatorship By Whom?

The proletarian state has another characteristic which distinguishes it from the bourgeois state in general and from the fascist state in particular. The fascist dictatorship, independent of control by the masses, is an instrument of the leading capitalist groups. The proletarian state, on the other hand, strives to have the highest possible number of workers take part in the dictatorship, not only through voting but also through active co-operation in the soviets, the organs of the proletarian state.

The "leader" principle in fascism only reflects the fact that the all-powerful state organization of the fascist dictatorship, which strives to subjugate the masses, is guided by and serves the large capitalist interests.

How different is the role of the Communist Party in the proletarian dictatorship! The Communist Party, itself, is organized on a centralized but democratic basis. Its decisions are made not autocratically by a "leader", but by the membership itself. The Communist party can rule only because it has the trust and support of the mass organizations represented in the soviets, because it receives the conscious co-operation of the masses and, together with them, discusses and solves all political problems.

The Source Of Policy

Let us take, for example, the manner in which changes in policy are executed in the Soviet Union. When Hitler announced the end of the "national revolution", the turn came as a complete surprise to the national-Socialist masses, for it was not decided upon by the broad masses of the national-socialist supporters, but was hit upon in secret deliberations by the clique composed of the highest party leadership and the large industrialists. Changes in policy in the C. P. S. U., on the other hand, are nothing more than the combined experience of the local organizations. They are the result of an

effort to express as completely as possible the wishes and interests of the workers, a procedure in which all plans are discussed and criticized in the mass organizations. The Five Year Plan, for instance, was drawn up from a multitude of local investigations with the energetic co-operation of the masses who also take an active interest in its execution.

How fundamentally different the proletarian and fascist dictatorships are, is further shown by a comparison between the fascist plebiscite and the elections in the Soviet Union. Under fascism, not only does terror reign during the elections, but the masses must vote on questions over which they have no control, and the candidates are nominated by the "leader". In the Soviet elections there is no terror; any attempt at terror comes only from the kulaks. The candidates are selected by the party membership, in the ultimate source of party authority, the cells. They are presented to the voters in the election conferences and there thoroughly discussed, and either accepted or rejected. The election procedure, worked out by the Communist Party, is discussed in an animated fashion in the election conferences where supplementary proposals, usually in large number, are introduced. After the election, the candidate selected is responsible to the voters for his actions.

But in this connection it is often asked, how can there be a proletarian democracy when only one party, the Communist Party, takes part in elections? Those who ask this question believe that there can be no workers' democracy in Rus-

sia unless there is a possibility of another party displacing the Communist Party. The overthrow of the C.P.S.U., however, would mean the overthrow of the proletarian dictatorship, for no other party can establish the proletarian dictatorship. Democracy for workers, however, is conditioned exactly on a retention of the proletarian dictatorship and it rests upon the communist principle that the workers have the right not only to make criticisms but also to take an active part in the conduct of the proletarian state.

Enlighten The Masses

It is, therefore, a misrepresentation and a distortion of facts to attempt to draw a parallel between proletarian and fascist dictatorships. There is no comparison between the two. They are fundamentally different. It is important to enlighten the masses on this matter and to awaken in them the desire to fight for the overthrow of the fascist state and for the establishment of the proletarian dictatorship. For, the workers will be ready to fight only for a proletarian state which has nothing in common with the fascist regime of terror and which, in place of the dictatorship of a leading clique serving the exploiters, establishes the broadest kind of democracy and self-determination. The "strong men", who advocate the "totalitarian socialist state", patterned along fascist lines, do not aid in the anti-fascist struggle. They render a service to fascism, by confusing the workers, by failing to tell them that they must build the Soviets, (without which the proletarian dictatorship is impossible) and by discrediting the Soviet Union thru comparing the proletarian with the fascist dictatorship.

Zausner and the Labor Comm.

A Statement

The members of the New York Painters union are on the eve of elections of officers for the District Council. During this campaign there have been made public the programs of the candidates from the various tendencies in the union, for the solution of the problems now confronting the union.

The year 1933-34 was rich in possibilities to strengthen the union and win improved conditions for the workers. Among the workers in the trade, organized and unorganized, there was the strong conviction that the union would seriously tackle the great possibilities for organization and for improved conditions in the shops. Thousands of workers joined the union. They were prepared to assist in organizing the open shops and in maintaining union control in the shops.

The progressive members of the locals appreciated the possibilities of the moment and proposed a program of action which the union was in a position to carry out. The program included such demands as the six hour day, 1929 wage scale, (this demand was supported by the Building Trades Department of the A. F. of L.) abolition of hire and fire, unemployment insurance, abolition of the worker in the job after working a certain time.

Philip Zausner and his machine in District Council No. 9 ignored these proposals, even though he was forced to admit, in his own local 442, that it was a good program and could be carried out. Did Zausner propose any other plans? No. Zausner carried out decisions of the bosses at the expense of the workers. The 1933 organization drive for which the workers supplied \$160,000 thru a 50c tax per working day, was in reality a means to organize the trade for the Master Painters Association. When Zausner closed the strike and claimed that our securing the 7 hour day and the \$9 scale was a victory, he did not dare tell the workers that the "victory" was only temporary. This sell-out Zausner could put over because he had surrounded himself with strong

boys and underworld heroes who beat and terrorized those workers who tried to expose Zausner's work for the bosses. The result of this treachery is that the conditions of the union workers have now become much worse than before the strike.

The progressives have always pointed out that the precondition for a stronger union and for improved conditions, is the defeat of Zausner and Zausnerism which has brought into our ranks the worst kind of corruption and sell-out of the interests of the workers. In its appeal for support in the struggle against Zausner, the Progressive Painters' Club of District Council No. 9 also turned to the Labor Committee of the Socialist Party. We proposed to work together with the members of the Socialist Party in the Painters Union, on the basis of a concrete program to be worked out jointly. We also proposed to fight against Zausner thru placing a candidate against him. We proved to the Labor Committee that the role of Zausner was similar to that of Osip Wolinsky of the Pocket Book Makers Union. We pointed out that rank and file workers and also the "Evening Journal" (February 21, 1934) charged Zausner with being a paint salesman and a scab boss. These charges he never denied. We urged the Labor Committee of the S. P. to take the same attitude to Zausner as they did to Osip Wolinsky.

Jack Altman, the secretary of the Labor Committee, pledged to call a conference of our committee and a committee of the Socialist League. Such a conference was held on Wednesday May 23 with Jack Altman present. After a short discussion the committee from the Socialist League informed us that they are not prepared to take a stand on Zausner until action by the full meeting of the League the same evening. They agreed to permit our committee to address the full meeting of the Socialist Party fraction. After the

meeting Gaft informed us of the decision of the fraction. They tend, he said, to accept our request but about Zausner they decided to wait until after the nominations in the locals. This decision to wait until after the nomination in the locals convinced us that the Socialist fraction refused to take up the fight against Zausner. Such prominent socialists as Gaft, Ginsberg and Zughaft came out openly for support of Zausner and for a fight against the progressive group which is trying to rid the union of Zausner.

Socialists and supporters of Zausner fired the first shot against the Progressive Group, in the Socialist controlled local 261. At the meeting of the local on Friday May 25, the socialists, knowing that the Progressive Group will nominate Mark Jackson as its candidate for secretary, carried a motion that the local should not place a candidate for secretary this year. Gaft, Ginsberg and the other socialists not only defended this proposal but Gaft even circulated among the members threatening those opposed to the motion. This maneuver was necessary in order to secure the local's endorsement of Zausner.

The actions of the Labor Committee, which, while fighting Osip Wolinsky in the Pocket Book Makers Union, maintains silence about Zausner and permits the members of the Socialist Party to work for him, shows on which side the Labor Committee has placed itself.

Zausner knows who are his friends, he understands the hints of the Socialists. Slight wonder therefore that Zausner was the only nominee for Secretary in his own local, workers feared even to mention the name of his opponent.

This is Zausner's democracy. The Socialist Party members and Zausner's strong boys are its apostles. Does the Labor Committee give them its socialist blessing?

The progressive members will resist the maneuver of a socialist Zausner bloc and will continue its struggle for a progressive union of the workers and for the workers.

Progressive Painters Club of District Council No. 9

ESTIMATING AUSTRIA'S REVOLUTION

(Continued from previous issue)

What was behind this suicidal policy of systematic surrender? Essentially the whole theory and practise of reformist Socialism!

Reformist Socialism sees the only real hope against Fascism in an alliance with the "constitutional", "democratic", "moderate" sections of the bourgeoisie, in an alliance, therefore, between Social-democracy and the "non-Fascist" bourgeois parties or groups. Everything must be subordinated to the possibility of such an alliance. The "lesser evil" must be chosen. The independent activity of the working class must be curbed lest it alienate the bourgeois allies. Bourgeois governments must be supported or at least "tolerated" by the Social-democracy, however reactionary or anti-labor they may be if only they are "non-Fascist". This was the policy which drove the German Social-democracy to ban every form of militant labor action, to "tolerate" Brüning with his emergency decrees and to campaign for Hindenburg for the presidency. This was the policy which drove the Austrian Social-democracy to swallow in silence every fresh attack of Dollfuss, to elect Miklas, the Austrian Hindenburg, by the stratagem of "blank ballots."

THE LOGIC OF COMPROMISE

From the very beginning, revolutionary Marxists have pointed out the fatal error of such a course and events have fully confirmed their judgment. To convert the labor movement into a tail-end of the liberal bourgeoisie, means to deny its historical mission, to crush its class independence, to quench its fighting spirit, to demoralize and to disorganize it. And to stake everything upon the alliance with the "democratic" bourgeoisie means to be driven imperceptibly, step by step, to the support of ever more reactionary sections of the bourgeoisie, to the degree that the center of gravity within the capitalist class itself swings towards the right. First support Brüning against Hindenburg—then Hindenburg against Hitler—and then?

THE RUSSIAN LESSON

Of course, the proletariat must strive to win the support of the lower middle class masses and even some sections of the bourgeoisie, if possible. But it can only accomplish this if it steps upon the historical arena as an independent class force, full of militancy and self-confidence and able to inspire confidence in the great masses of the people. This great lesson, taught in positive form by the Russian revolution and negatively by the catastrophe in Germany, still remains a book sealed with seven seals to the reformist Socialists, whether of the German or Austrian variety.

THE BLIGHT OF PARLIAMENTARISM

To reformist Socialism, the democratic institutions of bourgeois democracy constitute the "normal" arena of political struggle against reaction and Fascism. But who does not see how utterly impotent, how trivial, these democratic institutions become in the hour of social crisis? As Otto Bauer somewhat pathetically

by Will Herberg

remarks: "There were now no longer any legal means of resisting the illegal dictatorship." But it is precisely to these broken reeds that Social-democracy looks for effective weapons of political struggle. The German Social-democrats showered the Supreme Court with appeals against Hitler while he was ruthlessly destroying the labor organizations. The Austrian Social-democrats were ready to tolerate a Dollfuss dictatorship provided "that a small parliamentary committee, in which the government had a majority, should



Karl Munichbreiter, heroic leader of the Schutzbund, bleeding from many wounds, being carried to the gallows.

be able to criticize decrees and that a constitutional court . . . should be restored." When "parliamentary cretinism," that dread disease which makes one believe that the petty manipulations within parliamentary corridors decide the fate of the world, had gone that far, there was no longer any hope!

SOCIALIST WORKERS DEMAND ACTION

Infected with the reformist poison to their very bones, the leaders of the Austrian Social-democracy could do nothing more than cool their heels in Dollfuss's ante-chambers, hoping against hope to get a word into his ears. To the workers they had nothing to offer but the counsel of patience and vague promises that something would be done if the Heimwehr butchers presumed too far. But the Social-democratic workers grew more and more restive; it became increasingly difficult to placate them with the old conciliatory phrases. "The workers grew more and more bitter at the too patient policy of the party leaders," records Otto Bauer. "Large sections of the membership violently demanded of the party that it should take up the struggle." "The dissatisfaction and agitation of the workers against the conservative policy of our party committee increased," he continues. "The work-

ers said the government was making itself more powerful militarily, was wearing down our spirit and was choosing its own time to attack us." How much more clearly did the workers see things than their highly trained leaders!

Towards the beginning of February, the unrest and indignation of the workers were reaching the breaking point. The Heimwehr had mobilized its full military force and had publicly announced its intention of seizing complete hold of the government. Encouraged by Mussolini, Dollfuss now initiated the final drive to wipe out the labor movement altogether. Social-democratic and trade union headquarters were seized and even private houses were searched. Provocation could go no further.

The masses of the workers demanded action before it was too late. The Social-democratic leaders again counseled patience and waiting, urging the workers to await the result of another attempt at an interview with Dollfuss. "The party council issued warning," Bauer tells us. "It wanted to avoid the struggle as long as the government had not yet committed an act to arouse the whole mass of the working class. . . . But the excitement of a big section of the workers was already too great and the warnings of the party council were no longer listened to." On February 12 the Schutzbund members in Linz arose in armed resistance. The insurrection was on!

CIVIL WAR DESPITE LEADERS

It is today only too clear that the struggle broke out spontaneously, over the head and against the will of the Social-democratic leaders. When on February 10, Bauer first heard of the ferment among the Linz workers, he was "alarmed." He immediately sent a message to Linz urging the party members to "keep cool." "Apparently," he adds, "the message arrived too late." "Even on Sunday, February 12," Bauer continues, "the representatives of the party administration attempted to quiet the excited workers and to restrain the outbreak of the struggle." More than that, "when the news reached Vienna that there had been shooting in Linz . . . and a strike had broken out there, members of the Social-democratic party committee tried to get in touch with the government to prevent an outbreak. . . ."

By the morning of February 12, the die was cast. The Linz workers were in armed revolt and the workers of Vienna and other parts of the land were ready to follow. Only then did the Social-democracy finally decide to call a general strike but, in the nature of the case, it was already doomed to failure. The workers were unprepared and the Heimwehr had managed to seize all key positions. In many industries and in many parts of the country, the workers did not even know until some days later that a strike had been called. The backbone of the trade unions, the railwaymen's organization, had been deliberately weakened and demoralized by the Dollfuss regime and could not measure up to the occasion. But before the day was over the general strike had passed over and merged into open civil war.

(To be continued)

ILP Convention Report

(Continued from Page 5)

lar branch) of the RPC, is in complete agreement with the principles of the CI, but has criticisms of the tactics, and in particular has doubts as to the extent to which democratic centralism is carried out in the CI. It calls for a delegation to meet with the ECCI with a view of disposing of the outstanding differences, and affiliating as a sympathetic body upon assurances that democratic centralism would be faithfully carried out and that the ILP would retain its autonomy and independence subject to consultation. This too was defeated but with a larger vote in its favor—51 to 98.

3. The "isolationists" introduced a substitute resolution calling for the maintenance of the principles and independence of the ILP, cooperating with the CI in struggle against Capitalism, Imperialism, and War, but no affiliation. It opposes the formation of a new international. In discussion it was clear that the sponsors were not merely for temporary isolation, but they were opposed to the fundamental principles of the CI, and in particular opposed to Communist discipline. This resolution was also defeated—59 to 101.

4. The Trotskyite supporters, through the Clapham branch, introduced a resolution calling for immediate negotiations for the formation of a new international. This resolution received a smashing defeat. The vote was 20 to 137.

5. In addition the London and Southern Counties Divisional Council introduced an amendment opposing in particular, "the establish-

ment of the present Fourth International which it regards as a menace to international working class unity, and in so far as it is sponsored by the Left Opposition Groups, as a menace to the successful construction in the Soviet Union. This was also defeated with a vote of 64 to 107.

The original NAC recommendation carried with a vote of 102 to 64. It is to be regretted that for the sake of clarity within the ranks, no resolution appeared as a declaration of principle, without raising the question of immediate affiliations; i.e. dissociation from international reformism and centrism and a declaration that the CI are the only basis upon which a Communist International or Communist parties can be built. The overwhelming majority of the ILP. P. will have nothing to do with the Second International because they have come face to face with the Labour Party in England and understand the meaning of open remajority. But at the same time they grasped the meaning of centrism. It is for this reason that the strange paradox occurs—a considerable section desires negotiations with both the CI and the Independent Revolutionary Parties.

It is the job of the revolutionaries themselves from centrists and centrism within the ILP, by giving a revolutionary lead and proposing a revolutionary policy and approach to every issue facing the ILP, and the British work-

ing class, thus exposing the centrists and the meaning and implications of centrism; and secondly to show wherein the Independent Revolutionary parties fail to be revolutionary parties and the tremendous harm they do to the revolutionary movement.

Organization Problems

Several amendments to Party rules were passed giving the NAC greater power to deal with members and sections who oppose party decisions. A resolution was passed instructing the NAC to appoint a Commission on Party Organization to consider changes to bring the party in line with "its declared revolutionary policy". But a clause in this resolution calling for "provision for rapid transition to a type of organization capable of functioning under illegal conditions" was deleted.

A resolution was introduced which attempted to outlaw organized groups within the party such as the Revolutionary Policy Committee, the Affiliation Committee and the "Unity Committee." The rights and lefts and the chairman, Maxton, united on this issue and the resolution was defeated.

The Guild of Youth

A most interesting discussion resolved about the report of the Guild of Youth, the youth section of the ILP. The Guild of Youth has not only, in line with the decision of the ILP, at Derby in 1933, negotiated with the YCI, but has gone further. A delegation of the Guild of Youth is shortly to meet a delegation of the YCI to consider sympathetic affiliation. The question was raised as to

whether the Guild would abide by the decisions of the Conference on international associations. This the chairman of the Guild, Huntz, refused to promise. After some discussion the conference decided to continue urging all branches to form branches of the Guild, and that the Guild is to have autonomy on the question of international associations as it has on other questions. It is to be noted that the Guild of Youth had refused to participate in the Conference of Independent Revolutionary Youth Sections held in Holland in February, because it recognized that the conference was a step in the attempt to create a new international. Thus while the ILP, the parent organization, is breaking negotiations with the CI and is extending associations with the Independent Revolutionary parties, the Guild of Youth has broken with the Independent Revolutionary parties, and the ILP is extending its negotiations with the CI.

Clarity—The Great Need

At Bradford the ILP disaffiliated from the Labour Party. At York there were signs of steps forward, a tendency to break with pacifism, more discipline, greater conscious activity in the trade unions, united action with the CP and other forces in the labor movement. But clearly not only does great confusion still exist, but the centrists still have control of the party, and the decision on international associations not to lead the party back, shows the direction in which the party will go unless the revolutionaries drive forward. A greater responsibility lies upon

on the shoulders of the Revolutionary Policy Committee. It alone is the force which is not swayed by sentimental attachment to the CP. It alone is seeking revolutionary clarity and the crystallization of a steady Communist force. It represents the bulk of the revolutionary elements in the ILP. They accept without reservation the principles of the CI and the CP, and desire Communist unity. But they are dissatisfied with the tactics of the CP and therefore desire the maintenance of the ILP, in order to develop a revolutionary body with correct Communist tactics, striving for a united Communist Party in Great Britain. In this sense, it is most regrettable that the RPC has not yet come forward with a definite platform, with a clear program of action. Revolutionary clarity is the crying need of the ILP. Here the RPC must prepare to do much more.

We hope that the revolutionaries within the ILP, will during the coming year achieve clarity within their own ranks and differentiate themselves sharply from the centrists and their policies, by developing their revolutionary theories through concrete application to the problems facing the British workers. Only to the extent that the RPC will do this and be successful in extending its influence in the Party, will the ILP, develop a significant revolutionary section which will not only be ready to accept the principles of Communism but will be an important constructive force toward the achievement of communist unity, correct communist tactics, and victory of the world proletariat.

The Theatre In Review

This is the first of a series of articles on The Theater. In the next one, the author will contrast the productions of the Theater Union and those of the Theater Guild. The theaters of the workers and bourgeoisie respectively.

—Editor

by Lee Mason

A season which can boast the birth and speedy maturation of a Theater Union should not be put away in the attic without a little special rejoicing. Never before has the theater known such a progressive, vitalizing force. It clears the ground of the debris of former years and points the way forward to a significant collective theater.

Aside from the Theater Union and its productions there was but scant reason for encouragement. The Theater Guild presented "They Shall Not Die" (but blotted it out with "School for Husbands, Mary of Scotland, Days Without End etc.), Henry Hull blessed "Tobacco Road" with his presence, and Lawson gave birth to the puny and sickly "Gentlewoman." As for the "this," they nauseate one. Almost invariably their success is based directly on the extent to which they pander to diseased minds and repressed bodies. "She Loves Me Not" and "Three in One" furnish the vicarious sexual thrills, "Yellow Jack" and "Ah Wilderness" underscore the "nobility" of the human race, and "Mary of Scotland" and "Moor Born" beat a retreat to two "splendid" corners of history. All in all, the commercial stage shows the symptoms of rotteness. It stinks of the decay, but unfortunately, the swamp will probably take a long time in filling.

Evidence of this is found in the acclaim with which the critics up-town received "Ah Wilderness." Written in a vacuum, it presents a case for all the old virtues—mellow wisdom, quiet domesticity, and pure adolescence. For all the recognition it takes of present-day conditions it might have been written on Mars. But such is the senility of O'Neill and the demoralization of the critics that the play was hailed unanimously.

Perhaps this was a reaction from the strained "Mourning Becomes Electra" and the clumsy "Strange Interlude." As such, the welcome can be appreciated, for certainly these Freudian studies were a little thin to the palate and a little hard on the back-side. The critics should have demanded that the fresher character-reading of "Ah Wilderness" be balanced by a corresponding intellectual awareness. But they themselves are so steeped in bourgeois ideology that they cannot see the retrogression of O'Neill.

Let us examine the play as an art form. What is it that held its looseness together? Here is where George Cohan, "The First Actor" and composer of "Over There" enters. His affection for and understanding of the character of Nat Miller give the play a core about which all of the snailish action flows. When his wife sets up little walls of anguish every once in a while at the delayed appearance of Richard, it is Nat Miller who saves the situation. He changes his position unconcernedly, hesitates a little before answering her cries of distress, and then says something utterly banal. But his manner, so thoughtfully absent-minded, redeems the lines. His poise and timing are perfect.

It is true also that in the above cited scene the audience knows that everything is well with Richard, that his innocence has saved him from the tart. Certainly, such provision on the part of O'Neill contributes something to the scene's effectiveness. And while there are several other well-written episodes, Richard's boyishly exaggerated account of his escape amongst them, these are the bricks and mortar of each and every play. One demands more than this mechanical kind of skill.

In "Days Without End" even this is not forthcoming. O'Neill's concern with masks and split personalities is manifested here in an alter ego. As a consequence,

Lovestone's Address at ILGWU Meet

(Continued from Page 2)

lution adopted yesterday on the reconstruction of the American Federation of Labor on an industrial union basis should get down to business to line up other unions. You can not win the race against the capitalists in airplanes with ox cart organizations of craft unions. It is an unfair race no matter what "philosophical or selfish interests" you may be cautioned against. You all know what I mean and what I am driving at.

I think your union is better equipped to do it than any other because you are the most American union in the country. That may surprise you, I mean you are a mirror of America much more than other organizations. You have Negroes, you have Italians, you have Jews, you have Spaniards, you have a labor league of nations. A little more. Your union is a laboratory of working class opinion. In your union you have sound Communists and unsound Communists, sleepy socialists and wide awake Socialists, (laughter) Democrats and Republicans, and so on.

Who is going to do it except an organization of this sort? I think that what you should do is consider these questions that I have raised not in the light of an experiment, but in the light of an experience for the entire labor movement.

Now a word in closing to the new delegates and the members whom you represent. The biggest thing for the working class of this country is the influx of new millions of workers into the unions. It is your union and it will be your union as you become active in building the union. That is our message to you and we encourage you and want you to do it.

POWER MUST BE USED

Power and responsibility!

What is the good of having power if you don't exercise it? Power without exercise is perversion. When you have power don't be afraid to use it. The German labor movement had power and was afraid to use it. Where is it now? You must know that when you get power, as you are getting it now, you

do have a certain responsibility to the working class. That responsibility is to fight for it.

We ask you to help us, and we will help you, work together with you, not only for the improvement of your every day conditions, but for the elimination of all classes, for the elimination of all exploitation, for the wiping out of the present system of misery and poverty. We ask you to fight together with us. We pledge you to fight with you in your daily struggles so that we can together learn in life the lesson of unity for a common struggle for the destruction of the present insane, miserable, war-producing, Fascist-breeding system of capitalism. (Applause).

PRESIDENT DUBINSKY: We were glad to receive a word of criticism from one who does not try to shove his opinion down our throats. (Applause) We have a right to disagree with him just the same as I have a right to believe in the NRA, and Lovestone has a right to disbelieve in the NRA. Just the same as I have a right to believe that the NRA has done considerable for the workers of this country, particularly in the textile industry, where they have established the forty hour week for the first time by law, where they formerly worked 55 and 60 hours, Lovestone has a right to believe that nothing has been done. We have a right to come with our opinions, express them, convince, educate, win supporters. This is the procedure of the labor movement, and anyone that expresses himself in that manner is welcome within our ranks and is welcome to our platform. (Applause).

DELEGATE ROSENTHAL: I think that was a marvelous speech delivered by Comrade Lovestone who has helped greatly to rebuild our union and make it stronger. I move that the speech should be embodied in our minutes.

The motion was voted upon and carried. (Applause)

PRESIDENT DUBINSKY: And even on this we have a right to disagree.

Zimmerman's Minority Report

(Continued from Page 1)

work week and minimum wage provisions as well as what appeared to be a guarantee of collective bargaining (Section 7a) both as a concession to labor and as a supposed stimulus to recovery. In this form, the NRA was launched nearly a year ago.

NRA CANNOT BRING RECOVERY

From the very beginning it was clear to anyone not intoxicated with the New Deal ballyhoo, that the NRA could not succeed as a recovery measure. It is true that corporation profits in the biggest industries jumped tremendously from the first quarter of 1933 to the first quarter of 1934. But the business upturn, which reached its height last summer, before the NRA went into effect, has become a slow and irregular decline. Official reports indicate that both increased production and the shorter work week provisions of the codes have not absorbed more than three million unemployed in almost a year, leaving nearly twelve million jobless. And since October 1933, the number of unemployed has been rising more or less regularly. From October thru March, according to the May 1934 issue of the Monthly Survey of Business gotten out by the A. F. of L., "events took a different turn (towards increased unemployment) . . . Unemployment increased during the winter dull period and even the sharp rise in business this spring failed to lift employment again to the October level." The buying power of the workers has not increased during the NRA period. It has even declined. Hourly rates have risen and also minimum wages in some industries; but on the other hand, average weekly earnings have not grown and the buying power of labor has been cut because of the rise of prices. This has hit the workers so hard that large masses have been driven to open revolt, which is a contributing factor in the present big wave of strikes. According to the American Federation of Labor report of May 1934, "the individual worker in industry made no gain whatever in real wages from March 1933 to March 1934. His average weekly wage increased 9.7% but this was completely offset by a 9.3% rise in the cost of living."

Hours of labor have indeed been shortened in many industries but it is very significant that, as the American Federation of Labor bulletin points out, "not only was the average decrease in hours in industry during the last year less than 2½ hours a week" but that "hours are being lengthened as pro-

ductive activity increases and it is a question whether the gains will be held."

It is clear today that no substantial recovery or relief can be expected from the NRA.

NRA AND COMPANY UNIONS

The most alarming sign on the labor front since the NRA is the menacing growth of Company unionism. In the six months following the enactment of the NRA, the number of companies operating company unions jumped 180%, while the number of companies having agreements with genuine unions increased only 75%. At the beginning of this year, about 45% of the industrial workers were under the yoke of Company unions and 45% more worked under open shop conditions so that only 10% of the workers were to be found in genuine trade unions. It is the irony of the situation that Section 7a, still being hailed in some quarters as the great charter of labor, has been turned into a weapon against labor and has operated as a boomerang serving as the cover under which this alarming growth of company unionism has taken place. As far back as last July, General Johnson made a public declaration that the open shop was the only form of the relations between labor and capital recognized under the NRA. "An open shop," he declared, "is a place where any man who is competent and whose services are desired is employed regardless of whether or not he belongs to a union. That is exactly what the law says. The statute cannot be qualified. Is anything clearer than that needed?" And on Labor Day, addressing the Illinois Federation of Labor in this very city, the NRA chief announced publicly: "If an employer should make a contract with a particular union to employ only members of that union that would in effect be a contract to interfere with his workers freedom of choice of their representatives or with their right to bargain individually which is contrary to law." The notorious merit clause in the Automobile code, giving the employers the absolute right to hire and fire, shows what the NRA has meant in practice for such an important section of American labor. The ineffectiveness of Section 7a by itself is painfully demonstrated in the Weirton case where the company, backed up by the steel trust, has for months brazenly denied the most elementary right of collective bargaining to the steel workers.

The outrageous auto agreement which provides

(Continued on Page 8)

play unfolds its exposition in an

inexperienced and obvious way that slows up its pace. And then when the play is fairly under motion the alter ego is hanging about, embarrassing both the play and the auditors. Like most Americans in the field of literature, O'Neill is not content to secure effects in a subtle way; he must use a black-board pointer. The same failing explains the tediousness of "Strange Interlude" and "The Great God

Brown."

O'Neill has the intellectual stature of a five year old. Science and communism—yes O'Neill has flirted with communism—were tried in the agony of soul which he experienced as the depression wore on and on, but these constituted no solution. Thus when his uncle, Father Baird returns after a long separation he finds John Loving sick with struggling over the road to take. His formal self,

the one he presents to the world, harshly scoffs at the timidity and weakness of John, the spiritual inner self. But to no avail. John Loving's roots are too firmly held in the earth of superstition and ignorance to be pulled up by the hard-headedness and strength of the materialistic Loving. Father Baird's Christian patience and Elsa's desperate illness win the day, and John finally succeeds in vanquishing the "devil" in him. For



I WENT TO PITT COLLEGE by Lauren Giffillan. The Viking Press, N. Y.

This book was written by a young woman brought up in a "social service" environment. Since she was just out of college it was natural that she could not earn a livelihood. The combination of a chance to see how the submerged classes live and the possible opportunity to earn some money resulted in this book. This is not to say that the book is not well written and the picture we get is not a good one—quite the reverse. To get the material the author immediately gets plump into the midst of life as she finds it. She lives as one of them, shares their poverty and all that goes with it, dirt, disease, starvation and even their ignorance. Why else should a sane person take a chance of acquiring syphilis without at least the usual rewards that go with it? The result of all this is an interesting, well written, sympathetic story. She captures some living people and some real life—the miners' children, a begging expedition, the description of a half day in the pit are well done.

The general impression one carries away of utter poverty, degradation, resignation and ignorance are enough to drive one to despair; and in fact, unless the author hopes that this book will move some kindly old lady to donate her cast off high-heeled slippers, I can't see what else she hopes to accomplish.

Somehow, perhaps on account of suspicion justified or no on the part of the miners, she saw little of the class conscious working class movement. What little she saw, she portrays not very sympathetically. It is all very well to attribute the actions of the young organizer to her suppressed emotions, but surely somewhere in that terrible town there was courage and vision and devotion to the cause. To these the author gives very little mention. Certainly there are no signs that she herself, on coming out from the pit college came to understand the class struggle any better than when she arrived there.

—M.

drivelling and adolescent nonsense that last scene in which the complete and undivided John Loving lies prostrate before the figure of Jesus Christ has no equal. It is an eloquent commentary on the deterioration of a significant dramatist.

O'Neill makes his decision carefully and explicitly. He has looked over the panaceas of science and Platonism, Communism and Confucianism and found them all wanting in assurance. The Catholic Church alone removes his fear of death and restores the chaotic world to sanity. Even this solution, pulpy as it is, has no place in a Protestant minded, money-making civilization. Rockefeller's God, aggressive and mercenary, would sneer at it for retreating from the world of affairs where all men of worth have their being. How the Marxists would dispose of this formula goes without saying.

It is rather interesting to note that "Ah Wilderness" was written immediately after the putrid "Days Without End." If the former is any indication of what O'Neill is to do in the future, we can dismiss him as a significant force. In "Ah Wilderness," he cashed in on a small change solution and received the slightest return on his dramatic gifts. No more will he write a snarling, bitter "Hairy Ape," an angry, forceful "All God's Chillun Got Wings" and an exciting "Emperor Jones." As for his relevant comment on contemporary social forces and the operation of the New Deal, that appears to be out of the question. He rationalizes his bankruptcy in a high-sounding way: "Sure, I'll write about happiness if I can happen to meet up with that luxury, and find it sufficiently dramatic and in harmony with any deep rhythm of life." Well, he has found his happiness, and we have the sorry results.

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June 15, 1934

Biro-Bidjan

TWO worlds—the old and the new. All things, all phases of life reveal the startling contrast. In the old decaying world of capitalism, anti-semitism raises again its ugly head. In the new young world of socialism, anti-semitism is liquidated forever.

It is no longer merely in the backward, semi-feudal, barbarian lands that anti-semitism shows itself. It is in the lands of high civilization and culture, such as Nazi Germany. Like a pestilence the plague of anti-semitism spreads from land to land throughout the capitalist world.

Nationalism was a progressive force in the youthful period of capitalism; today it is a curse. The curse of anti-semitism begets its inseparable opposite, bourgeois Jewish nationalism. Anti-semitism drives the Jew back into the ghetto; Jewish bourgeois nationalism would accomplish segregation on a world scale, a world-ghetto in Palestine.

"There are two nations in every modern nation . . . there are two national cultures in every national culture." Zionism subordinates the "progressive nation" to the "reactionary nation," the proletariat to the bourgeoisie, socialist culture to the anti-culture of a capitalist world in decay. Zionism builds the rubbish of national oppression into its very foundations, for Zionism is founded on the dispossession of the Arab and the negation of Arab self-determination. It plays catspaw to British imperialism. As in all forms of national reaction today, Zionism begets its own fascism (revisionism) within its own ranks!

Only one land is solving, only one class can solve, the Jewish question.

The first week of the existence of the Soviet government witnessed the "Declaration of the Rights of the Nationalities of Russia." With a single revolutionary leap, Russia passed from the worst land of Jewish discrimination and persecution to the best land of Jewish equality and freedom.

In the years of the building of the new Socialist order the Soviet Union tackled the problem of bringing the declassed Jewish merchants, peddlars, Talmudical scholars, brandy distillers and luftmenschen, and above all the Jewish youth, into the basic industries, thus ending once and for all the isolation of the Jews that had set them apart in an enforced ghetto as a "peculiar people." Colonies like Kalinindorf, Stalindorf, New Zlatopol, Freidorf and Biro-Bidjan, brought the Jew into agriculture. Industrialization brought the Jew into industry. By the end of the first Five Year Plan, over half the Jews in the Soviet Union were wage-earners in productive industry! The age-old Jewish problem was a problem no more!

On May 7th, 1934 Biro-Bidjan was proclaimed a Jewish Autonomous Region with the prospect, upon further growth, of becoming an Autonomous Socialist Soviet Republic, one of the equal partners in the free union of people called the Soviet Union.

Decaying bourgeois nationalism brings anti-semitism in Germany, and Arab-Jewish race war and Fascism in Palestine. Proletarian internationalism brings economic rehabilitation, freedom and equality, and the preservation and extension of all that is progressive in Jewish culture or nationality.

Two worlds—one dying—another, and better, being born!

LOOK AROUND YOU!

You will see a deep ferment in the labor movement; feverish organization, phenomenal trade union growth, bitter and bloody strikes, widespread disillusion with NRA, a tenseness—a restiveness which promises deep and decisive struggles.

In the ranks of the revolutionary movement there is division and the sharpest clash of conflicting thought. The Communist movement is divided. Even the Socialist movement for years smug and cynical, is rent by political dissension.

WHAT IS BEHIND ALL THESE DEVELOPMENTS?

If you want a clear Marxist analysis of the problems facing the working class in the U.S.A. and abroad, you must read

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Zimmerman's Minority Report

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for the turning over of lists of union members to a board including representatives of employers and thus establishes a national, government-approved blacklist, this auto agreement, which gives official recognition and thus legalizes the company union as a form of collective bargaining, shows what grave dangers the NRA has in store for the workers if they are not ready to militantly defend their unions and their interests.

RIGHT TO STRIKE CHALLENGED

The NRA has openly dared to challenge the right of labor to strike, a right, without which no trade union can exist. At the last convention of the American Federation of Labor, Senator Wagner, chairman of the National Labor Board, did not hesitate to declare: "The first charge upon labor is that it abandon the philosophy of strike in its relation with employers. The crucial point is that the strike is never more than a protest. It has no constructive force. It creates hundreds of new problems but cannot solve a single one." At the same convention, General Johnson thundered: "Labor does not need to strike under the Roosevelt plan. The plain truth is that you cannot tolerate the strike. . . . If you persist or countenance the strike, public confidence and opinion will break down and destroy you."

MENACE OF GOVERNMENT INTERFERENCE

A very grave challenge to trade unionism embodied in the NRA is the possibility it gives for government interference in the inner affairs and proper functions of the unions. Let me remind you that even in the Cioak trade the NRA attempted to interfere and even held public hearings on the question of initiation fees. I need not emphasize how dangerous may become this attempt to deprive the unions of their independence unless labor crushes it in its very first stages.

In the most influential circles of the NRA, opinions are being advanced favoring the turning of our unions into government agencies, a tendency which bears within itself the seeds of Fascism. As far back as last September, General Johnson himself urged "overhead control of labor as responsible to government" for our trade unions.

PROGRESS THRU MILITANT ACTION

The great expectations aroused by Section 7a proved a tremendous stimulus to the revival of trade unionism. Instead of utilizing this opportunity to build up their organizations and to fight for improved conditions, many labor leaders contented themselves with hailing the NRA as the great charter of labor that would automatically bring them all sorts of benefits. Not only did they fail to realize the dangers in the NRA, but they even spread the illusion that the NRA would be the means of solving the problems of the workers and improving their conditions. They did not drive home to the workers the necessity of having strong fighting unions upon which they could depend; on the contrary, they tended to make the workers place their entire confidence in the official operations of the NRA. The sad plight of the textile workers today is only the consequence of dependence of the union leaders on the NRA rather than on strong, militant organization and aggressive action. President MacMahon of the United Textile Workers even went so far as to boast, at the A. F. of L. convention, of the strikes that he had prevented or called off. "No man nowhere has tried more determinedly than I have," he said, "to avoid chaos in the industry. In my office there are not hundreds but thousands of appeals from the workers demanding that they be allowed to strike. The vast majority of those appeals have come from the South."

The tremendous growth of our organization and the improvement of conditions in the various markets have come as a result of an entirely different practice of a policy of aggressive strike action and dependence only on the forces of the union. In fact, the rebirth of our union really began months before the NRA was enacted into law. This can

easily be proven if you remember the Philadelphia dress strike. The report of the General Executive Board, Page 71, informs us:

"If the term, rising from the dead, may be used in regard to any of our unions within the past year, it can rightfully be applied to our Philadelphia dressmakers organization, Local 50. The experience of Local 50 in 1933 was nothing short of resurrection and most remarkable of all was the fact that the revival movement in the Philadelphia dress industry had preceded by several months the general recovery movement which spurred on trade union activity all over the land and in our own International Union. In a historic sense it became therefore the forerunner of the great strike movement in our industry last year and its splendid example acted as an inspiration and driving force for our union in the other markets."

Can anything more be required to prove that we do not owe the revival of our union simply to the NRA but rather to the aggressiveness of our union.

Especially today when the grim realities of the NRA are coming to the fore with the passing of the honeymoon stage, is it necessary for our International to adopt a correct and realistic estimate of the NRA, a policy justified by our experiences in the last year, especially in the dress trade, a policy that will help insure militant action by our organization.

Instead of singing praises to the NRA and presenting gifts to President Roosevelt, we must realize the dangers and counteract the illusions of NRA. We must train our members to have faith only in their union and rely only on their organized strength for defense of their interests. We must never for a moment forget that the whole NRA was initiated and developed primarily as a means to save the foundering ship of capitalism.

NO PARTICIPATION IN CODE AUTHORITIES

The Darrow Report has fully borne out our contention that the code authorities are nothing more nor less than executive committees of powerful trade associations of employers, concerned primarily with promoting their own business interests. What labor can get under the codes is not dependent upon its representation in the code authorities but rather on the strength of its organization since these issues are determined not by the votes in the code authorities but on the picket lines. For labor to become part and parcel of the code authorities means for it to share responsibility for their decisions, which may often be the worst blows against unionism. It means for labor to mortgage its independence and to lose the advantage of freedom of action and suddenness of attack. Labor must confront the NRA machinery as it confronts employers associations, being prepared to back up its demands with its organized might but refusing to become part of it. By participating in the code authorities we promote the illusion amongst the workers that their problems can be solved within these bodies thus undermining their faith in unionism.

OUR DUTIES TO THE LABOR MOVEMENT

3. In arguing against our statement on the NRA, the majority of your committee declares that our union must not even attempt to lay down policy for the general labor movement of this country. I regard this viewpoint as basically and dangerously wrong. Only if we view the NRA from the standpoint of the labor movement as a whole is it possible to see it in a clear light and to frame policy accordingly. That is why we must not shrink the responsibility of contributing actively to the working out of an effective program for the trade union movement of the country. Our International is today the third largest organization in the American Federation of Labor, one of the largest trade unions in the world. It is therefore, our solemn duty to throw our full weight in the direction of progressivism and militancy in labor's ranks. Our statement lays down a clear and definite orientation for American labor at this crucial moment. I therefore urge upon this convention to bear all these considerations in mind and to endorse the minority report.

STEEL MEN TO DEFY THE NRA

(Continued from Page 3)

The whole labor movement, every friend of labor, will watch with bated breath the developments in the steel industry. The committee has shown a degree of militancy and a refusal to bend the knee before the steel barons and their agents in Washington, born of decades of oppression and degradation in the steel mills. Pressure from the "responsible leaders" of the government and the A. F. of L. may come. To yield would be disastrous. The tasks involved in a strike against these industrial "feudal lords" are indeed difficult. Yet precisely this will have to be achieved if the steel workers, if the whole trade union movement is to go forward. The steel industry is the back-bone of the open shop and company union. It must be broken. To accomplish this the whole labor movement must be aroused in support of the steel workers.

WHITHER THE SOCIALIST PARTY?

WHAT happened at the Detroit Convention?

WHY did the "Old Guard" lose control?

HOW militant are the "Militants"?

WHO are the present leaders of the S. P.?

CAN the R. P. C. make the S. P. revolutionary?

JAY LOVESTONE

on the S. P. Convention

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